

"The large virgin forests in the Eastern Province of the Ecuadorian republic and the Peruvian Provincia de Loreto are inhabited by various Indian tribes some of which are now half-civilized and Christians in name, some again complete savages and independent of the whites. Among the former the Napo Indians, living on the upper and middle course of the river Napo, and the Canelos Indians, living along the banks of the small river Bobonaza, an affluent of the Pastaza, as well as the Cocama Indians on the Marañon, are the most important, whereas among the tribes still living in a state of nature there are the little known Avishiris in the region of the Rio Curaray, the Záparos on the Rio Tigre, and the different tribes of the great Jibaro nation.

The last mentioned, who in their own language call themselves Shuāra--of which the name Jibaro seems to be but a Spanish corruption--are probably one of the most numerous tribes in South America east of the Andes. They inhabit a very large area, limited approximately by the Ecuadorian Andes in the west, the river Tigre in the east, and the Marañon in the south. Formerly, I believe, the Pastaza was roughly the eastern limit of the Jibaro territory, but at present there is at least one tribe between this river and the river Tigre. Similarly, in the north there is a Jibaro tribe on the Rio Copataza, a small northern affluent of the upper Pastaza. South of the Marañon, just opposite the mouth of the Rio Santiago, there is in our days the Jibaro tribe known under the name of Aguaruna, but these Aguarunas seem to have originally formed part

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of the great Huambiza tribe on the Morona, north of the upper Marañon. The Aguarunas are thus the only Jibaro tribe living in Peru. The regions round the rivers Upano-Santiago, Morona, and their affluents, as well as the geographically little known primeval forests between the Morona and the Pastaza, are populated by numerous tribes of the same great Indian race."

"The different Jibaro tribes generally take their names from the small affluents of the main rivers, on the banks of which they have fixed their homes. This fact explains the great number of Indian names that [3] we meet in the regions inhabited by the Jibaros. Thus on the eastern slopes of the Ecuadorian Andes, in the regions round the river Santiago and its tributaries, we find such tribes as the Arapicos, the Chirapas, the Upanos, the Pantes, the Santiagos, the Gualaquizas. On the Morona, there are the Cusulimas, the Huambizas, etc.; on the Pastaza, the Copatazas, the Achuares, the Antipas, and so forth.

All these tribes belong to the Jibaro race and are consequently closely related to each other anthropologically as well as in their language, customs, and beliefs. There is no larger group of Indians of which the Jibaros form a part. Both anthropologically and linguistically they form a group of their own, in their physical and their mental characteristics greatly differing from the tribes surrounding them. Their culture is certainly one of the most important and interesting native cultures at present existing in the whole of South America."

"Among the Jibaro tribes I include, as a particular sub-tribe, the Canelos Indians, and this may seem to require a special explanation. The village of Canelos is the greatest and most important of the Catholic missions still existing in the Ecuadorian Oriente. The Indians living in this region are not pure Jibaros, as they are erroneously described by Rivet, and do not form a homogeneous group. They are a mixed race, formed partly by Indians of Jibaro origin, partly by Quichua-speaking Indians from the Sierra, partly by Zàparos from the Rio Curaray and the Rio Tigre. Among the Jibaros who in former times moved into Canelos and subjected themselves to the influence of the Catholic missionaries three important families or clans are particularly mentioned, namely, the Gayas, the Tanchimas, and the Cuhis. These as well as other Jibaro families have fused with the other tribes, thus giving rise to the peculiar native race known under the name of Canelos Indians. Their anthropological affinity with the mountain Indians shows itself especially in their strong build of body, whereas their close relationship with the Jibaros proper is made manifest in their whole material and intellectual culture. It is owing to this fact that I treat them here in connection with the Jibaros. On the other hand, in many of their customs and beliefs they have also been influenced by their relatives in the Sierra, with whom moreover they have a com-

mon lan-[10] guage. Their language consequently is Quichua, although some of them also speak or understand the Jibaro language. The native words and phrases I use in this book when describing the culture of the Canelos Indians are therefore Quichua, just as those used by me with reference to the Jibaros proper belong to the Jibaro language.

The Canelos Indians number about 2000 individuals. They live partly in the mission of Canelos, partly in the village Pacayacu, situated two days journey by canoe farther down the river. Besides this, among the Canelos Indians are generally reckoned the Indians of Sarayacu, a village situated three days journey southwards from Pacayacu. These Indians, however, as is shown by their physical appearance, originally belonged to a different native race.

All the so-called Canelos Indians are now Christians in name, being under the influence of the Catholic monks of the Dominican Order, but as usual they have preserved many of their ancient customs and beliefs. Formerly, when the Indians of Canelos were at war with the wild Jibaros, they adopted their savage methods of fighting their enemies, and even head-feasts are said to have been celebrated in secret. And although witchcraft certainly plays a great role among the Jibaros, the wizards of Canelos are supposed to outdo even their heathen colleagues in this mysterious art."

"The greatest confusion exists regarding the naming of various Jivaro subdivisions. They refer to themselves as 'Shuara', thus differentiating themselves from other tribes. As is later stated in [2] more detail, they live in rather widely separated household groups with very little consciousness of any sort of political unity. Such groupings as exist are continually shifting location, separating, amalgamating, or being exterminated. For centuries travelers by the score have attached different appellations to such groups. Frequently they have been designated by the name of the river on which they lived, but the rivers have had as many different names applied to them as have the Indian groups. Thus we find such general names as Pastazas, Moronas, Santiagos, etc., while lesser groups are frequently called by the names of the affluent streams on which they reside. Thus the Jivaros living on the four principal tributaries of the Santiago are called the Upanos, the Pauteños, the Gualaquizas, and the Zamoras. These are further subdivided into the names of the lesser tributaries. Obviously such designations have no ethnologic significance."

"A few words about this tribe will not come amiss, as they played such an important part in our personal history during our search for the Inca gold, and are, indeed, one of the only six known head-hunting tribes of the Amazon zone, grouped under the common name Jívaros, the others (all their enemies) being the Huambizas or Pantecunas, the Aguarunas, the Muratos and the Zaparos. To form an estimate of the relative strengths of these peoples is more than I dare attempt; their migratory habits and their custom of living in small scattered settlements hidden in the dense jungle makes it an impossible task. Indeed, one of the main points of their policy is to conceal from one another not only their whereabouts but also their fighting strength, even going so far as never to use the same trail twice, if possible, in approaching their homes. For these reasons an air of complete mystery surrounds the whole region, [193] and the casual white invader stands no chance of obtaining accurate statistics."

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"The native tribes are grouped more by language divisions than by ethnic differences, and the Pastaza river is the dividing line. Those who speak Quechua live to the north of this line, while those speaking Jivaro live to the south. Neither group lives in settlements, [191] as it is their custom to live in isolation in the depths of the forest, even though they do not keep entirely away from the settlements of the whites, with whom they maintain commercial relations through trading gold or some other native product for trinkets, in which they manifest particular interest."

"In addition to the above mentioned groupings, those of the Záparos on the Tigre, the Aucas on the Curaray, and the Muratas on the lower Pastaza also are worth noting. In neither their numbers nor their personalities, however, do these groups stand out like the Quechuas and Jivaros. [121] Of all the aboriginal groups of the Oriente, the Jivaros are the most industrious and intelligent, although they resist civilization because of their repugnance to enter into social relations with the whites, whom they consider as objects of pity, subject to multiple needs, and above all, lacking in the sagacity and endurance required for the life of the forest."

"On various tributaries of the Morona, Pastaza, Santiago, and Tigre rivers of Ecuador, live tribes generically known as Jivaros, Jiveros, Jiberos, or Jeberos. The Indians themselves are unacquainted with the appellation. They call themselves variously Huambisis, Aguarunas, Paloras, etc. , these being the names of small rivers in the territory they inhabit. Perhaps the rivers are named for the tribes, maybe the tribes are named for the rivers. In any event the name, Jivaro, or its cognates, which possibly had its origin in the local name for rubber (jebe) is, according to the interested persons themselves, a misnomer."

The old writers called them Xivaros or Xibaros. This orthography was employed in 1651 by Padre Laureano de la Cruz in his account, Nuevo descubrimiento del Amazonas (1), by Padre Manuel Rodriguez (2) in 1684, by Padre Samuel Fritz (3) in his map published in 1707, by Padre Francisco [334] Javier Weigel in his map drawn in 1769, during his detention at Lisbon after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish possessions [335](4);

1. This account is found in Vol. I, p. 147, of Varones Ilustres de la Orden Seráfica en el Ecuador, by P. Fr. Francisco Maria Compte, 2nd edition, 2 vol., Quito, 1895.

2. Padre Manuel Rodriguez. El Marañon y Amazonas, Madrid, 1684, Book III, ch. XIII, p. 205.

3. A copy of the original of this map was brought back by La Condamine and is in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. A smaller engraved copy was published in Quito in 1707. It is found also in Vol. VIII of Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères, Missions d'Amérique, new edition, Toulouse, 1810.

4. The map of Padre Weigel is reproduced in the beginning of the book Historia de las misiones de la Compañia de Jesus en el Marañon español by Padre Jose Chantre y Herrera, Madrid, 1901.

La Condamine (5), Maldonado (6), Coleti (7), Requena y Herrera (8) in the map that he made in 1779 concerning the regions of the upper Amazon, Lapie (9), and Mollien (10)

5. La Condamine. Relation abrégée d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique méridionale, Paris, 1745, in 8^o, page 38.

6. Carta de la Provincia de Quito y de sus adyacentes, obra póstuma de Don Pedro Maldonado, sacada a luz por orden y a expensas de Su Majestad, 1750.

7. G. D. Coleti. Dizionario storico-geografico dell' America meridionale, Venezia, 1771, 2 vol. in-4^o.

8. This map accompanies a Descripción del Gobierno de Maynas y misiones en el establecidas por el Coronel Don Francisco Requena y Herrera, Gobernador de Maynas, Comandante general de su provincia y de la de Quijos y Macas, 1785, (Archives of Quito). It was published in Quito in 1903 by order of Dr. Luis Cordero, then president of the Republic of Ecuador.

9. Annales des Voyages, Vol. XVI, 1811, in-8^o. See Lapie's map at the end of the volume.

10. G. Mollien. Voyage dans la République de Colombie en 1823, Paris, 1824, 2 vol. See his map in vol. II.

also adopted it. The Italians, Rev. Father Louis Pozzi (11) and Colini (12), wrote Givari. Some explorers of the same nationality have proposed Xivari (13) or Chivari (14). One also finds in other accounts Givaros (15), Zibaros (16), Jivaras (17), Jiviras (18),

11. R. P. Louis Pozzi. "Excursion militaire chez les sauvages du Maragnon, mission de Gualaquiza, details ethnographiques sur la tribu des Givari." (Annales de la propagation de la foi, Sept. 1871, n^o 258, page 353.)

12. G. A. Colini. "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari." Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma (anno CCLXXX, 1882-1883).

13. Gaetano Osculati. Esplorazione delle Regioni Equatoriali lungo il Napo el il fiume delle Amazzoni, 1st ed., Milan, 1850. Note on page 29.

14. Colini, op. cit., note 2, page 4.

15. Padre Manuel Castrucci de Vernazza. Viaje practicado desde el Callao hasta las misiones de las dos tribus de infieles Záparos y Givaros, Lima, 1849.

16. G. A. Colini. "Collezione Etnografica degli indigeni dell'alto Amazzoni acquistata dal Museo preistorico-etnografico di Roma." (Bolletino della Società Geografica italiana. Rome, April-May, 1883) Note 2 on page 17.

17. & 18. For footnotes 17 and 18 see next page. (Jivaro-4)

Hibaros (19), Xebaros (20), [336] Jevaros (21), and Xebros (22).

17. Clements R. Markham. "A list of the Tribes in the Valley of the Amazon, including those on the banks of the main Stream, and of all its tributaries." (Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. Vol. III, New Series, 1865, p. 140.)

18. William Bollaert. "On the Idol Human Head of the Jivaro Indians of Ecuador" (Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. New Series, vol. II. 1863, p. 112.)

19. Daniel G. Brinton. "Studies in South American Languages," in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 1892, vol. XXX, Philadelphia, p. 59. --- The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America. New York, 1891, p. 282-284.

20. Don Jorge Juan and Don Antonio de Ulloa. Relación histórica del viaje a la América meridional, 4 vol. Madrid, 1748. 1 part, Vol. II, p. 530.

21. Antonio Raimondi. "On the Indian Tribes of the great district of Loreto, in Northern Peru" (The anthropological Review, v. 1, 1863, p. 33.) (translated from Spanish by W. Bollaert).

22. John Lubbock, "Note on the Macas Indians" (The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. III, 1874, no 1 page 29.)

Marcoy (1), Markham (2) then Bollaert (3) identified the Jívaros and the Jeveros (Jeberos or Xeberos) as the same group, and many authors after them, Brinton (4) in particular, have admitted this synonymy, which to my mind is not legitimate. (This confusion seems to arise from the finding of Xiberos instead of Xeberos in a "Description abrégée du fleuve Maragnon et des missions établies aux environs de ce fleuve, tirée d'un memoire espagnol du Pere Samuel Fritz," published in vol. VIII of the Lettres Edifiantes, op. cit. p. 232. But this translation abounds in errors in the orthography of geographic names: For example, in it one finds Sogrona written instead of Logroño.) In fact, Father Fritz, Father Weigel and Father Requena separate very clearly on their maps the territories inhabited by these two tribes; Hervás (5) distinguishes the languages

1. P. Marcoy. "Voyage de l'océan Atlantique à travers l'Amérique du Sud (1848-1860)" (Le Tour du Monde, vol. X, 1864, 2nd half-year, page 169).

2. Markham, op. cit., p. 166.

3. Bollaert, op. cit., p. 115.

4. Brinton, op. cit.

5. Don Lorenzo Hervás. Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas. Vol. I. Lenguas y naciones americanas, p. 263-264, Madrid, 1800.

spoken by each of them; Velasco (6) in his list of the Indian tribes of the Ecuadorian Oriente classes the Jíbaros and the Jeberos separately; Maldonado, Villavicencio (7) in their maps place the first tribe well to the North of the village which bears the name of the second tribe. Closer to our day, Raimondi (8), Orton (9) and Ordinaire (10) describe successively the one and then the other tribe.

6. Don Juan de Velasco. Historia del Reino de Quito (written in 1789), 3 vol., Quito, 1844, vol. III, Historia Moderna, p. 251-252.

7. Carta Corográfica de la República del Ecuador by Manuel Villavicencio, 1858. Printed by F. Mayer and Co., New York.

8. Antonio Raimondi. "Apuntes sobre la provincia litoral de Loreto" in Geografía del Perú by Mateo Paz Soldan. Paris, 1862, vol. I, p. 664 and p. 666.

9. James Orton. The Andes and the Amazons or across the continent of South America, p. 471. New York, 1875, 3 ed.

10. Olivier Ordinaire. "Les Sauvages du Pérou" (Revue d'Ethnographie, vol. VI, 1887, p. 265.)

I believe that there is reason for reserving the name of Jeberos for a tribe characterized by a special language, which lives between the Apena river and the Cahuapanas river, on the right bank of the Amazon. As for the Indians with whom we are dealing, we must give them the name of [337] Jibaros. The "j" should be pronounced like the Spanish j. Since South Americans make very little difference between the pronunciation of "b" and "v" they often write Jívaro. As the Spanish dictionary gives the spelling Jívaro, a word which means "country fellow, peasant, savage", it is this last spelling which should be adopted.

This point settled, it is useful to call attention to the fact that, in the time following the first attempts at conquest of the eastern regions by the Spanish, the word "Jívaro" was very comprehensive; a synonym of the word "Yumbo", it was applied to all Indian peoples still unsubdued and not converted (1).

1. Federico Gonzalez Suarez. Prehistoria Americana. Ligeras reflexiones sobre las razas indígenas que poblaban antiguamente el territorio actual de la República del Ecuador. Quito, 1904, p. 37.

The list of Jibaro tribes is very long and varies considerable with different authors; this abundance and this confusion are due to the fact that each Jibaro group, no matter how small, takes a special name from the name of the river which passes near his habitual abode. The result is that there are as many tribes as small streams of water in the three basins of the Santiago, Morona and Pastaza. Moreover, certain explorers have extended the domain of the Jíbaro race too far. For instance, Paul Marcoy reports that the Panos, who live on the banks of the small Sarayacu River, a left-hand tributary of the Ucayali, are probably native to the regions washed by the Morona and must have come to settle first at the mouth [350] of the Huallaga River, before occupying the region where the lucky explorer arrived just in time to see that last Pano of pure race and preserve his features for us. The hybrid descendants of these Panos are probably the Remos, the Amahuacas and the Sensis on the right bank of the Ucayali, the Caci-bos, the Conibos, the Sepibos and the Schetibos on the left bank. Doubtless, he is attempting to derive the word "Pano" from the word "Upano", but it seems to be only a coincidence, and I have not been able to recognize in the customs of the Panos, as described by Marcoy the special customs of their supposed ancestors, the Jibaros (1). I

1. Marcoy, op. cit., (Le Tour du Monde, vol. X, 1864, 2nd half-year, pages 59, 161, 185 and 186).

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have already enumerated the arguments which have made me eliminate the Jeberos from the Jíbaro family; for the same reasons, I think that the Aguanos, encountered by Herndon on the banks of the Huallaga River, should not be included in it (2).

2. Lieut. W. M. Lewis Herndon, Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon (with a map). Washington, 1854, in-8°. Velasco makes the Aguanos a separate nation with a special language. Velasco, op. cit., vol. III, page 252.

We already know that the very general names of Pastazas (V₁) (1), Moronas (V), and

1. A- "Informe de P. Fr. Bartolomé de Alacáno de Alacáno," op. cit.

B- José Felix Barriero. Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London. New Series, 1863, vol. II, page 112.

C- Castrucci, op. cit.

Co- Cordero, op. cit.

D- Colección de cartas sobre las misiones dominicanas, op. cit.

M- Voyage d'exploration d'un missionnaire dominicain chez les tribus sauvages de l'Equateur, op. cit.

Ma- Maldonado, map cited.

MM. - Marcel Monnier. Des Andes au Para-Equateur, Pérou, Amazone. Paris, 1890 (with a map).

P- Proaño, op. cit.

Pr- Prieto, op. cit.

R - Raimondi. "On the Indian Tribes of the great district of Loreto," etc., op. cit.

S - Bulletin Salésien.

V- Velasco, op. cit. vol. III, p. 175 and 251.

V₁- Manuel Villavicencio. Geografia de la República del Ecuador. New York, 1858, page 169, and map cited.

Santiagos (VI) are applied to the tribes living along the three principal fluvial arteries.

The Upanos (V₁), the Pautenos (V) or Pautes (V₁), the Gualaquizas (V₁), and the Zamoras (V₁) inhabit the banks of the four principal affluents of the Santiago, and the Yaguarzongos (V) are mingled with the Zamoras (V₁). [353]

The name of Logroños (V₁) was formerly applied to the tribes who lived in the vicinity of the unhappy town which they destroyed, just as that of Canelos (V), the Macas(V) include all the Jibaros in the regions which have for centers the small villages of the same name.

Let us now take successively each of the great basins.

Basin of the Pastaza. The Cubillines (V) lived formerly in the cordillera of Cubillin, the origin of the Upano, the Palora and the Llusino; the Huamboyas (V) or Huambogas (B) inhabited the chain of mountains located more to the east, between the sources of the Palora and the Llusino, north of the Sangay volcano; the Paloras (V) along the Palora river. The Achuales (V₁), Uchuales (M), Achmiles (B), or Achuelos (M.M) constitute a great tribe, which occupies the whole right bank of the Pastaza from the Achual River to the confluence with the Bobonaza. It was these people who annihilated Andoas. The Maxumbaras (C), found a little above this confluence, must be a part of the Achuales.

The Pindos (V₁) have been visited and studied by Reiss and Stübel, later by Simson, on the banks of the stream of Pintuc or Pindo. Downstream from this tribe, the Copatasas (V₁) wander between the Copataza River and the Pastaza, and the Capahuaris (V) in all the territory between the Bobonaza to the N.E. and the Copataza to the S.W; the Jíbaros of the Pingullu (D), on the banks of the watercourse with the same name, seem to belong to this last group.

Finally, the Muratos (V) and Machines (C) occupy all the region sprinkled with lakes, which extends between the Pastaza on the east, the Morona on the west, and the Marañon on the south; to the north, they go up to the southern limits of the Achuales (1). They are found for ten days' journey up the Pastaza River. Thanks to the information furnished

1. Markham wrongly included the Muratos with the Záparos. Markham, op. cit., p.176.

by Father Castrucci, Colonel Proaño, Raimondi, Luccioli (2) and Marcel Monnier, we are thus able to localize this important tribe which extends as far as the left bank of the Pastaza. The Guazagas (V) [354] are a section of this tribe, living on the banks of the Huasaga River, a right-hand tributary of the Pastaza.

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2. Colini, "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari," op. cit., page 5.

Basin of the Morona. The Chirapas (V1), or Chiriapos (P) live between the Palora and the Miazal and extend along the upper course of this last river, while the Miazales (P) occupy all the lower course.

The Chihuandos (D), to the south of the Chirapas, occupy the mountainous region where the tributaries of the right bank of the Aincicaimi and Maembaimi Rivers have their sources and the banks of these rivers themselves; the Cherembos (P), still more to the south, live between the Upano and the Mutiacahi and on the sources of the latter, 17 kilometers east of Macas. The Cangaimes (Co) wander along the banks of the Cusulima or Kangaimi, and on the banks of the Mangosisa, are the Mangosisas (P), of which one tribe, the Patucas(R) (doubtless, the Batucos of von Hassel (1)), inhabits the extreme lower part of the course, almost at its confluence with the Cusulima. Farther down, one finds successively the Kanduaschis or Kandoashis (D) at the sources of a small left-hand tributary of the Morona, the Cetuchi, doubtless the Siduchi of Wolf, then the Ayulis (P) on the upper Morona, the Ayuli River and the lower course of the Cusulima, and finally the Tigüirmas (P) a little below these last. It is probable that these three peoples

1. Jorge M. von Hassel. "Las Tribus salvajes de la región amazónica del Perú" (Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Lima, vol. XVII, 3rd part, 1905, pages 27-73).

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are parts of the Muratos and Machines.

On the right bank of the Morona, the great tribe of the Huambizas (R) or Guambizas (B) occupies all the space between this river to the east, the Marañon to the south and the Santiago to the west; their northern limit is probably a line passing to the south of the Zhuizha River, for according to a Dominican missionary, in the region of this stream, between the Santiago and the Morona, the country is completely uninhabited (2). The Mayas (D) are without doubt a tribe of the Huambizas, established on the banks of the Amaya.

2. "Censo de los Jíbaros que pertenecen a la misión de Macas, levantado en 1890," by Rev. Father Delgado, in: Vacas Galindo. Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. III, page 416.

Basin of the Santiago. This basin is one of the most complex.

The Zuñas (V) and the Pairas (V) formerly lived in the regions [355] where today the small settlements of Zuña and Paira are found on the way from Riobamba to Macas, and the Copuenos (V) and Aguayos (V) a little downstream, on the Upano (1).

On the left bank of the same river, we find the Yuquipas (V) on the tributary of the same name to the east of Macas; the Nazangoras (P) along the Upano opposite the mouth of the Tutanagoza, and to the south of this tribe, the Chiguasas (A) on the little river of the same name. As for the Turumbisas (V), perhaps they ought to be considered as the residents of the neighboring river, the Tundumbisa.

On the right bank of the Upano, the Jurumbaini (B) lived about three hours distance from Macas, the length of the small stream of Jurumbay or Jurumbaino; the Arapicos (D), Agapicos (V₁) or Alapicos (V₁) on the little river of the same name; the Guambinimas (B) in the area delimited by the Zhungaimi River, Tutanagoza River and Arapicos River; the Tutamagosas (B) or Tutanangoras (P) on the Tutanagoza.

On the Paute River I have already mentioned the Pautenos (V) or Pautes (V₁); then come the Chupiansas (S) along the Chupiansa, and the Mendes (B) in the territory bathed by the little rivers of Tayuzha and Zazhapasa.

1. "Informe sobre las provincias de Quijos, Avila, Canelos y Macas, por el Gobernador de Macas Don Josseph de Basabe y Urquieta" (May 1, 1754), in Vacas Galindo, Límites Ecuatoriano-Peruanos, op. cit., vol. I, page 61.

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In the basin of the Zamora are the Bombasicaros (V) on the Bambuscara, a tributary on the right bank; on the left bank, south of Gualaquiza, the Pachicosas (S) or Paricosas (Co), above the Chuchumbleza River; on the right bank of the latter, the Chuchumblezas (S); on the right bank of the Bomboiza, the Naranzas (S); between the Cuchipamba and Cuyes Rivers, the Jívaros of Tuledu (S), then the Indanzas (S) and the Yunganzas (S) on the two little rivers of the same name.

On the Santiago proper we find, on the left bank, the Jíbaros of Mayalico (Pr) on the banks of the Zhuizha river, and the Benerizas (V), on the Beneriza river; on the right bank, the Iranbisas (V) and the Iranasas (V) on the little rivers of the same names; then, near the Marañon, on the extreme lower course of the Santiago and between that and the Morona, live the Patocumas (S) [Patocumos (S), Patucumas (Co), Pafocamas (Pr)]. The name of Patucumayas (D) is evidently applied to the two united tribes of Patocumas and Mayas, the location of which I have described before. I think that both should be included with the Huambizas. [356]

To the east of the mouth of the Santiago lives the great tribe of the Antipas (R)[Nantipas (Pr)], who extend up into the Cordillera of Condor. Like the Huambizas, they spread southward on the right bank of the Marañon, where the traveller Luccioli has reported out their presence between the Nieva River and the mouth of the Santiago (1).

1. Colini, "Osservazioni ethnografiche sui Givari," op. cit., page 5.

Then, there is one last important tribe, the Aguarunas (R) [Ahuarunes (Ma)] whose habitat is exclusively on the right bank of the Marañon. According to Raimondi and Luc-
cioli, they should be located to the south of the Pongo de Manseriche, in the vast terri-
tory between the Nieva River and the Potro River. Wertheman reports that previously
they lived at the mouth of the Chuchunga (1); they must therefore have emigrated from the
west to the east.

1. Arthur Wertheman. "Aufnahme der Flüsse Paranapura und Cahuapanas im Depart-
amento de Amazonas der Republik Peru" (with a map) (Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für
Erdkunde zu Berlin, 15th vol., 1880, page 211).

These are the principal Jívaro peoples whose location may be determined at present without too many chances of error. It suffices to compare it with the list given by Velasco in order to understand how incomplete is the work that I have attempted. It was impossible to locate on the map in a precise manner many of the tribes reported by modern travellers or missionaries. Such are the Oyocamas (A), the Achuras (D), the Zhomos (D), the Mexipuras (A), and the Jambas mentioned by M. Fabre (1), who all belong to the Macas group, the Jíbaros of Chiceni (Co) who live on the Zamora (2), the Tambos or Tumbas (B), the Chiguavidas (B), and the Jíbaros of Suinde (Pr).

1. Hamy, op. cit., note 2, page 46.

2. "Informe del Ilm. Sr. D. Manuel Plaza," in Compte, op. cit., vol. II, page 293.

20: Dyott--159

116, 101, 551

(no date) 1926

Jivaro

"The whole question of names is one of tremendous interest, and the Jivaros differ from every other Indian tribe with whom I am familiar in the Amazon country in one most important respect: they group themselves with other tribes under a distinct tribal name--the name of Shuaro. Tribes outside this group frequently label their neighbours with nicknames, but it never occurs to them to band together under a distinct name of their own. The tribes known to the whites as Jivaros, Huambisas, Antipas and Aguarunas, are all Shuaros, and recognize themselves as such. "

22: Hamy--386-387

(No date) 1873

Jivaro

116, 175, 101

"In 1741, Father Samuel Fritz published a general map, incorrect without doubt, but much less incomplete than that of Pagan; and on this map one can read, under a form little different from that which is used at present, the true name of the large Indian family of the territories of Cuenca and of Chachapoyas.

Fritz named these savages Xibaros...; la Condamine..., Lapie..., [387] Mollien ..., etc., have preserved this designation. They are now called Jivaros or Jeberos."

"By comparing the various documents, one finds that the Jivaro family, localized especially in the north of Marañon, between the Pastassa and Chinchipe rivers, includes nevertheless, four tribes to the south of the river, in Peruvian territory: the Muratos, the Uambisas, the Aguarunas and the Antipas. The first of these tribes is not yet clearly defined on the map. The second appears to occupy the area opposite the mouth of the Huambisa or Yurumbisa river. Mr. Herndon encountered the Aguarunas, whom he named Aguanos, at Santa-Cruz on the Huallaga river, a little above the point where this river joins with the Marañon. The expedition of the bishop of Chachapoyas discovered other Aguarunas on the Marañon itself, between the mouth of the Nieva river and the celebrated Pongo of Manseriche. Paz Soldan and Mr. Raimondy show us on the river, above the same [388] Pongo, the Antipas neighbors of the Aguarunas, with whom they are at continual war...."

"The information which we have condensed (in the preceding pages) will suffice as a description of a map as yet vague of the present extension of the Jivaro family. Co-ordinated with other geographic descriptions collected in the neighboring valleys or mountains, they permit us already to fill in our atlas a gap of considerable extent."

"Humboldt and Orbigny have already included in the Guarani peoples the Omaguas of Ucayali and of Marañon, brothers of the Umañas of Brazil. First of all the name of the Jivaros recall in a striking manner that of one of the large affluents of the Amazon, the Javari river. Along the banks of this river live the Mayorunas. Near the Japura river, another tributary of the great river, are the Marahunos. On the Ouanari, affluent of the right bank of the Oyapoc, live the Maraones. These three names are closely related to that of the Moronas of the Morona river. In the eighteenth century on the same Japura river, there were the Achuaris whose ethnic appellation scarcely distinguishes them from that of the Jivaro Achuales. The Muratos recall the Muras of the Purus river. The name of the Uambisas fits perfectly into the most frequently used forms of the Guaranis, of whom the tribes Ua were formerly so numerous. It is the same for the Catapasas which one can relate to the Catapuyas, the Catahaichis, the Cataxos, the Catakinos, etc. The Pastassas seem to have taken their name from the Carib Pastuzzos of the Atlantic coast, between Chiriqui and Goajira. The Gualaquisas have a name akin to that of these Gualachos who have inhabited the islands of the river of Coronda below Santa-Fe. Finally the Upanos derive their [391] origin from the ancient Panos of the Javari river. It is known that these are the same Upanos who, chased into part of the basin of the Morona by hostile neighbors who were nevertheless of the same race, descended into the pampa of the Sacramento, where the Franciscans found them established and where several recent travelers, among whom we have noted especially

22: Hamy--390-391

(No date) 1873

Jivaro-2

116, 101, 175

Mr. Paul Marcoy..., have encountered their miserable remnants.

It should be added that the general term by which the great Indian race of the East is designated, the word Guarani, finds itself scarcely changed in the name of the principal tribe of Peruvian Jivaros, the Aguarunas, of whom we have, with Herndon and Paz Soldan, localized the two tribes...."

The Aguaruna, Antipa, Huambisa, and Murato Indians are the component tribes that make up the Jibaro people, according to Bastian. The Jibaro people were never completely subjugated by the Incas, just as they put up a firm resistance against the later Spanish attempts at conquest. What the old historians report concerning the Jibaros may still be said of the Aguarunas of today: they are just as proud, brave freedom-loving, and, at the same time, hospitable as the old Jibaro people are said to have been.

The Aguarunas keep up a friendship with the Antipas, but they are hostile to the Huambisa Indians who live along the banks of the Santiago River. I have noticed that they regard it as an insult if they are called Huambisa.

The white men call Aguaruna those Indians who live on the right side of the Marañón River; the Indians to the left are called Antipa. Both names may be found on Raimondi's map (number seven), but with this difference: the inscription at the left side of the Marañón River reads: "Jíbaros y Antipas." The Indians under discussion call themselves now, all of them, Aguaruna, [49] even those on the left bank of the Marañón River. I received this information in Numpathai as an answer to a direct question. Moreover, I have been unable to discover either physical or any other distinguishing characteristics between the Indians of the two river banks. It may well be that the Indians use the name "Aguaruna" to distinguish their own race from that of the white men. The Indians of the two banks of the upper Marañón entertain friendly relations with each other, and they speak the same language, which is identical with that of the Huambisa and Murato

The name "Aguaruna" is not derived from the language of the Indians thus named. "Aguaruna" is composed of the Spanish word agua (i. e., water) and the Quichua word runa, which means "people," "men". Aguaruna, i. e., Watermen, Waterpeople. This name, at any rate, was given to them by the white men who first came into contact with them. The name indicates that these Indians habitually live in the proximity of water. To explain that the name is composed of Spanish and Quichua elements, it may be pointed out that whoever gave the name to the Indians may have come from the mountain area where Quichua is still partly spoken and where such two-language words occur frequently. For example, the Quichua word Ahua-runá may mean "weavers" because the men there do the weaving.

I have tried in vain to find out which name the Indians derive from their own language. During my research in this direction I have heard the word Yánum on several occasions, but it turned out that this term means "man belonging to the tribe", "fellow countryman," or something similar.

The name Chíwaro derives perhaps from the Kandoschi language, for they call the Chíwaro suara. This may have been the basis for jívaro (Spanish), since the form siwora also occurs (Beuchat). The Chiwaros themselves do not have a name of their own for the entire tribe. Each sub-tribe has a name of its own.

Aside from the Spanish version Jivaro one can also find Jibaro (often spelled Xivaro and Xibaro in ancient times), furthermore: Givari, Xivari, Chivari (Italian writers!), Givaro, Zibaro, Jivara, Jivira, and Hibaro."

"The Chiwaros are divided into several sub-tribes, three of which are important: the Chiwaro-Aguarunas, the Chiwaro-Makas, and the Chiwaro-Atschual. The fourth division, the Chiwaro-Uambisa, is smaller; it may be a tribe mixed of Aguaruna and Makas Indians.

The Aguarunas live farthest to the south, in general along the right bank of the Marañón in the large bend which this river makes when it leaves the Cordillera. My information concerning the Chiwaros are based, if not indicated otherwise, on the Aguaruna tribe which I have studied. The Chiwaros show an inclination toward group formations. There could be mentioned, for instance, the Nantipa (or Antipa) along the left bank of the Marañón, but this is nothing but a special group which, due to continuous warlike entanglements, separated from the main group under the leadership of a chieftain (nantipa).

Along the middle course of the Santiago live the Uambisa (also Bañbisa, Guambisa, Huambiza); along the upper Santiago and probably also along the Morona River there are the Chiwaro-Makas Indians, who are probably the nucleus of the tribe and the original bearers of the name Chiwaro. Along the upper Morona a part has separated from the main group, but this part does not deserve the designation of sub-tribe, etc. The Aguarunas call the Uambisas uampís or Yiwá, while the Chiwaro-Makas Indians are called uákis by the Aguarunas.

28: Tessman--342

116, 101, 131

(No date) 1930

Jivaro-2

The third large sub-tribe is that of the Atschual (or Achuaros, Aisuari); they live chiefly along the right bank of the middle Pastaza, especially along its tributary Huasaga. They call the Chiwaro-Makas Indians šuer and the Uambisa and Aguaruna Indians patukma. "

The Andoas are called and^loa, the Kandoshis (of whom only the Muratos were known) are called kand^loas, the Ketschuas oh^luna or mo^lexen (the latter refers to the inhabitants of the highlands); the whites are called wiakut^l or apa-t^lse, which, according to Karsten, means "papa," though the Peruvians interpret it as "Apache" (Indian tribe) and, in a metaphoric sense, "roughneck." "conqueror."

Jivaro Souls

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[181] THE Jivaro proper (*nutsuri thara*) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,¹ but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.² A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning souls. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.³

128 The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,⁴ but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset 129 it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.⁵

114 Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Río Upano and its tributaries, the Río Tutanangoza and the Río Sepa; the Río Chigawa; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangoza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western 133 slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *Utiñ* 130 *Ibañ*, *Kugall*, and *Unta Akañ* of the Río Tutanangoza; *Mañ* of the upper 131 Río Macuma; and *Hintañ* of the Río Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were 115 *HwagA*, *Tupi*, and *Naita*, all from the Río Tutanangoza region.

124 The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

1916-1918 and did not come into significant firsthand contact with Whites until 15 to 20 years later. Stirling's fieldwork came after Karsten's, in 1930-31. The informants were also aware that what was wanted was the traditional Jivaro view, with recent innovations in belief being recorded separately.

Finally, there remains the question of whether the contradictions between the several investigators' reports stem in part from the fact that both Karsten and Stirling visited other Jivaroan tribes (i.e., Achuara, Huambisa, and Aguaruna) in addition to the Jivaro proper. In order to assess this possibility, I queried linguists who had been making prolonged investigations among the Huambisa and Aguaruna, and also personally questioned several Aguaruna, Huambisa, and Achuara men.¹ As a result, it was determined that Stirling's term "tsarutama," for example, is completely unknown in all the Jivaroan tribes, "arutam" being used by the Achuara and Huambisa and "akulan" by the Aguaruna. Likewise reported absent are any beliefs in Stirling's rain or anaconda "gods" or in Karsten's earthmother "goddess." In fact, these cursory inquiries suggest that the soul belief systems of the other Jivaroan tribes may prove to be basically similar to that sketched here for the Jivaro proper.

NOTES

¹ This tribe (dialect group) dwells, roughly speaking, between the Río Pastaza in the north and the upper Río Zamora in the south; and from the 3,500 foot contour elevation of the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Río Pangul in the east. The *untzuri luara* comprise the Jivaroan tribe which is usually referred to in the existing literature as the "Jivaro proper," "Jivaro," "Jibaro," "Ecuadorian Jivaro," or "Shuara." This last term, *luara*, does not mean "Jivaro," as often has been stated, but is used by the Jivaro proper to refer to any Indian or group of Indians without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. "*Untzuri luara*," meaning "numerous Indians," is the designation applied to this tribe by its close eastern Jivaroan neighbor, the Achuara tribe (*achuara luara*). Most of the serious anthropological information published on Jivaroan culture so far has been on the *untzuri luara* or Jivaro proper. The other Jivaroan tribes definitely known to be in existence today are the Achuara (Achuál), Huambisa, and Aguaruna.

The following Jivaro orthography is partially based on that developed by Glen Turner of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. He is not responsible, however, for oversimplifications presented here. These approximate values are assigned to the following phonemes:

Vowels

- a Spanish a
- e English i in sit
- i Spanish i (nasalized when adjacent to n)
- u Spanish u

Consonants

- c Spanish ch
- h English h (palatized; labialized when preceded by u)
- k English k (palatized when following e or i plus a nasal consonant)
- m Spanish m, but more palatized and labialized
- n Spanish n (palatized when following e or i plus a nasal consonant; voiced like Spanish ñ when l is adjacent)

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At the time of the conquest of Perú by the Spanish, the empire of the Incas extended from Chile to the Rio Mayo north of Pasto. It was only in a few places, however, that this nation ever eager to conquer, succeeded in subjugating the tribes of their dominion living on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera. The nature of the country, the climate, and the nomadic way of life of the Indians set up almost insuperable difficulties for them. In the northern part of the empire, however, which had been subjugated only a short time and which now forms the republic of Ecuador, contacts had already been made with the Jivaro and Máca Indians living on the tributaries of the Amazonas. The Spaniards sought to extend their conquests in this direction too, when they had taken over the legacy of the dynasty destroyed by them. The small bands of conquistadores were not satisfied with the tremendous stretches of land that had fallen to them with comparatively little effort; they wanted to subjugate more and more new territories, to capture new riches. Soon after the founding of Quito they made an alliance with the Mácas, which was followed in a short time by a large number of expeditions. It sounds almost unbelievable when we hear that after just a few years a number of rather large cities were founded and rapidly began to flourish. Merely in the region of interest to us here the cities of Mendoza on the Rio Palora, Sevilla del Oro on the Rio Upano, and Logroño on the Rio Paute were founded in the year 1552. The wealth of gold and the ease of acquisition drew large numbers of settlers; monasteries were endowed and churches built, and the district of Mácas was soon considered one of the richest and most prosperous of the great Peruvian empire.

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Three Indian tribes, of which only one exists today, are mentioned as inhabitants of the extensive forests on the eastern slope of the Cordillera between the Pastaza and Paute rivers. They are the Mácas, Huamboyas, and Jívaros. The first two seem not to have been very large; the Jívaros formed, and still form today, a large nation, which, to be sure, is made up of many individual tribes living in enmity for the most part, but which nevertheless /326/ join together against a common enemy and can order up a considerable number of fighters.

INTRODUCTION

Only one tribe of American Indians is known ever to have successfully revolted against the empire of Spain and to have thwarted all subsequent attempts by the Spaniards to reconquer them: the Jívaro (hee'-va-ro), the *untsuri suarā* of eastern Ecuador. From 1599 onward they remained unconquered in their forest fastness east of the Andes, despite the fact that they were known to occupy one of the richest placer gold deposit regions in all of South America.

Tales of their fierceness became part of the folklore of Latin America, and their warlike reputation spread in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Jívaro "shrunk head" trophies, *tsantsa*, found their way to the markets of exotica in the Western world. As occasional travelers visited them in the first decades of this century, the Jívaro also became known not as just a warlike group, but as an individualistic people intensely jealous of their freedom and unwilling to be subservient to authority, even among themselves. It was this quality that particularly attracted me when I went to study their way of life in 1956-57 and I was most fortunate, at that time, to find, especially east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, a portion of the Jívaro still unconquered and still living, with some changes, their traditional life style. This book is about their culture.

A factor that contributed to my decision to do fieldwork among the Jívaro was the incredible volume of contradictory and often obviously unreliable information on their culture.

fication possible. I personally believe that the proper use of first-class interpreters is an excellent field technique, but that it must be done with sophistication involving constant rephrasing of the same questions in different contexts with various interpreters and informants and supplemented by as much participant observation as possible. It seems likely that at least as many errors in ethnographic research can be committed by the fieldworker who is under the delusion that he is "fluent" in the language, and who fails to check his results through interpreters, as by the researcher who recognizes his linguistic limitations and uses trained interpreters with sensible caution and patience. 124
[122]

The research providing the present data was conducted for a total of fourteen field months in 1956-57, 1964 and 1969, primarily in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Río Chiguasa; the Río Macuma; the Río Cangaimi; the Río Cusuimi; the Río Mangoniza; and the Río Upano and its tributaries. Except where otherwise stated, the ethnographic data presented here refer to the culture of those Jivaro who in 1956-57 were not yet in regular first-hand contact with Ecuadorians or other whites. 101 •
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The 1956-57 field investigation was sponsored by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation, Inc., of New York, with supplementary grants from the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, the American Museum of Natural History, and the American Anthropological Association (Smith, Kline and French Laboratories contract). The organization and study of the collected data upon my return from the field was facilitated by a University Fellowship in Anthropology from the University of California and by a summer grant from the Social Science Research Council. 122

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MAP 1 /p. 11/
Jivaro and neighboring tribes

Chapter I

THE JIVARO: BACKGROUND

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I say truly to Your Highnesses that these people are the most insolent that I have seen in all the time that I have traveled in the Indies and engaged in their conquest.

Captain Hernando de Benavente
—to the Jivaro in a letter to
the Royal Audiencia of Spain,
March 25, 1550¹

- 101 13 Where the westward-drifting cloud cover of the upper Amazon basin collides with the eastern cordillera of the Ecuadorian Andes, cold rivulets cascade into the misty forests to form swift, growing streams descending towards the Atlantic Ocean, a continent away. Where the mountain waterfalls give way to rapids, the country of the *untrari suarã*, the Jivaro, begins; and where the rapids finally end in placid meandering rivers, so does their homeland. Downstream from the rapids live their traditional enemies, the *achuarã suarã* and the *tsuana suarã*, Indians who travel more by canoe than on foot. But the rapids are more than a geophysical feature; they are a protective barrier that has long halted exploitative penetration of the Jivaro country from the navigable river systems of the rest of the Amazon basin to the east. And the escarpment of the Andes, to their west, which is the most abrupt in all the length of South America, has similarly been an old and silent ally in inhibiting successful conquest and colonization from the highlands. This then, is the home of the Jivaro, a wet, mountainous, and heavily forested sanctuary which helped preserve the freedom and

/p. 12/

THE JIVARO: BACKGROUND

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- 101 culture of an American Indian tribe more than four hundred years after Cortez and Pizarro.

197 It is not known how long the Jivaro have dwelt in the forest at the foot of the Andes. Their degree of isolation has been sufficient to make it difficult for most historical linguists to assign Jivaroan dialects and languages (including the now-extinct Palta) with certainty to any one of the recognized major language families of South American Indians. However, Greenberg² has suggested that Jivaro and Candoshi, along with several other languages, belong to a broad "Andean-Equatorial" family which comprises a great number of languages from northern to southern South America.

- 172 Archaeological evidence that I have recovered indicates that at least a portion of the present area occupied by the Jivaro was inhabited by pottery-making (and presumably horticultural) populations at least as early as two and a half millennia ago. Small test excavations in the middle Rio Upano Valley, undertaken in 1957, revealed two different ceramic complexes in association with charcoal which provided radiocarbon dates of 609 B.C. $\pm$ 440 years and 1041 A.D. $\pm$ 160 years.³ However, the pottery of these two prehistoric complexes is sufficiently different from present-day Jivaro ceramics that it seems difficult to establish a direct cultural connection with certainty. The earlier complex, named "Ipianini," was discovered southeast of the micozo village of Huanili in association with artificial earth mounds and ridges, evidence that suggests the possibility of a relatively dense population at that time. The later ceramic complex, termed "Yaunchu," was found near Sucúa and Macas and contained large numbers of specimens of the "red-banded incised" style of pottery recovered in a limited quantity by Collier and Murra⁴ in the adjacent highland province of Azuay, which is the source of the Rio Paute. It seems clear that the prehistoric population
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174 residing in the Jivaro region went to some degree in contact with the peoples of the Andean highlands.

619 Today five Jivaran tribes or dialect groups are known to inhabit the tropical forest of the Ecuadorian and Peruvian Amazon: the Jivaro¹, the Achueta (Achueta, Achual); the Humblia, the Aguaruna, and the "Meyna" (see Map 1). Of these, the Jivaro, or *unnei hani*, is the best known. This is the tribe which is usually referred to in the literature and locally single as the "Jivaro," "Jhara," "Shua" or "Shuwa," while the other three Jivaran tribes are usually locally called by their special names.

• 101 The term "shuwa" (*hani*) does not simply mean "Jivaro," as has sometimes been said, but means "man," "man" or "people" and is used by all Jivaroans except the Aguaruna to refer to any Indian or group of Indians (as opposed to whites, who are called *apari*), without regard to cultural or linguistic affiliation. *Unnei hani*, meaning "numerous Indians," is a more accurate native designation for the Jivaro proper, which is applied to them by the Achueta (*achani hani*) in the east. An alternative term, *wanape hani* ("hill Indian") is also applied to the Jivaro proper by the Achueta. The Humblia (*namu hani*) refer to the Jivaro proper as "*yake hani*" or "*yakine hani*," while the Aguaruna call them the "*paraka irap*." Since the native designations vary, and are not in common usage in the literature, the practice in the present study will be simply to use the term "Jivaro" when referring to this tribe. Other tribes, when mentioned, will be given their specific names, e.g., Achueta.

181 The Jivaro population, numbering an estimated 2,500
133 persons in 1956-57,² dwells chiefly between the Rio Putana
161 in the north, and the upper Rio Zambesi in the south, and from about 1,500 meters altitude above sea level on the eastern slope of the Andes in the west to the Rio Pongo

[text continues on p. 16]

THE JIVARO ENCLAVE



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Map 2
Distribution of the Jivaro, by census tract,
north of the Rio Zambesi in 1975-77

131 (approximately 400 meters altitude) in the east. Map 2 shows
 133 most of the region except for the southern extension along
 [161] and beyond the Río Zamora. The tribal territory north of
 the Río Santiago is bisected by the rugged, jungle-clad Cordillera de Cutucú, which runs roughly north and south and reaches an altitude of more than 2,000 meters above sea level.

- 101 There are settlements of Ecuadorian colonists in the Jivaro
 [563] territory west of the Cordillera de Cutucú in the Upamo and
 Puno valleys and also southwest of the cordillera in the
 Zamora Valley, but the mountain range has acted as an effective
 barrier to white settlement in the lands inhabited by the
 eastern part of the tribe.

Most of the Jivaro dwelling west of the Cordillera de Cutucú and south of the Río Chiguan region are in continuous first-hand contact with the frontier of Ecuadorian settlement and are here called the "frontier Jivaro."¹¹ Those beyond the frontier of Ecuadorian colonization—the object of this study—are mainly east of the Cutucú range and are sometimes referred to here as the "interior Jivaro," since the region is locally known, in Spanish, as "*adentro*."

The northern neighbors of the Jivaro are the Canelos (also locally known as the "Alama," "Quichua" [Quechua] or "Yumbo"), who speak a dialect of Inca. To the east dwell the Achuar Jivaros, and to the south along the Río Santiago and Río Morona, the Huambin Jivaros.¹² Thus the Jivaro are bounded on the west by an Ecuadorian white or mestizo population, and on the other three sides by native tribes.

Jivaro-White Contacts

- 175 Prior to the Spanish Conquest, the Jivaro were bounded on
 648 the west by the Inca Empire, which had conquered all the

THE JÍVARO: BACKGROUND

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175 diseases carried by the colonists and that this depopulation
 648 greatly facilitated the seizure of Jívaro gardens by the whites.
 [731] As the frontier of the white settlement pushed inexorably up
 [101] the Río Upano Valley in the direction of Macas, many Jívaro
 [161] lost their lands to the new immigrants, and often fled east-
 ward across the Cordillera de Cutucú, or moved northward
 to the Río Chiguasa region.

175 Around 1941, Jívaro-white relations became extremely
 648 tense due to the war between Peru and Ecuador. Ecuadorian
 72 troops attacked a Jívaro neighborhood near the Río Santiago
 669 reportedly because they believed that the Indians were from
 Peru and led by Peruvian army officers. In the resulting
 bloodshed, seventy-seven Ecuadorians and an unknown num-
 ber of Jívaro, including women and children, were reportedly
 killed. The other Jívaro began to fear that the Ecuadorians
 [619] planned to exterminate all of them to get their lands. Almost
 all the Jívaro neighborhoods along the frontier of Ecuadorian
 colonization rapidly called a truce among themselves and
 made secret plans to conduct a co-ordinated revolt at the first
 sign of a general attack by the Ecuadorians. Elaborate stra-
 tegic plans and tactical assignments were agreed upon by the
 leading warriors of the normally feuding neighborhoods. Un-
 doubtedly the mechanics of making this emergency alliance
 were very similar to those involved in the destruction of the
 Spaniards in 1599. However, the planned revolt never was
 initiated because the expected Ecuadorian offensive against
 the Jívaro did not occur.

175 A few years later, the Salesian missionaries persuaded
 648 the government of Ecuador to set aside certain lands in the
 797 Upano Valley as church-administered reservations for use by
 missionized Jívaro. Protestant evangelist missionaries also sub-
 sequently obtained a small land grant for a similar purpose
 in the same valley, around 1950. Today almost all the frontier

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Jivaro reside in such mission-administered lands, since Ecuadorian settlers have taken over almost all of the remainder of the desirable land in the Upano Valley. New white settlements which have sprung up in the Río Upano frontier region include Sucúa (by the Río Tutanangoza), Huambi, Huambinimi, and Logroño (the latter three between Sucúa and Méndez) (see Map 2). By 1950, the reported white population in the Río Upano frontier region had reached 1,811 persons, as against 2,356 Jivaro in the same valley.²⁴

By 1956, the Jivaro west of the Cordillera de Cutucú were largely in direct, continuous contact with the Spanish-speaking Ecuadorian population. In this frontier zone, white soldiers and police had imposed the national laws on the Jivaro. White settlers had seized almost all of the land except that protected by the missionaries, and employed the Jivaro in wage labor. Missionaries, with the backing of law enforcement agencies, were putting the Jivaro children in boarding schools and enculturating them to the new, alien way of life. This direct, unremitted contact was tending to acculturate the frontier Jivaro to the national Ecuadorian way of life and the direction of the trend was towards eventual assimilation.

The Interior Jivaro

In contrast, the Jivaro beyond the frontier of colonization still were not yet in continuous first-hand contact with the white population at the time of the investigator's original fieldwork in 1956-57, and these are the people whose culture will be described here. Their territory, mainly east of the Cordillera de Cutucú, had been rarely, if ever, penetrated by any Spanish expedition or later group of Ecuadorian colonizers. This mountain barrier, which is traversed by an ardu-

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177 ous journey of two or more days on foot, still discourages white penetration into the eastern interior.

Cases of contact between the interior Jívaro and whites are all very recent and highly localized in their occurrence. The largest intrusion was made by the Royal Dutch Shell Oil Corporation in the early 1940's as part of an ill-fated oil exploitation project. The company constructed a small airstrip near the Río Pangui in the easternmost part of the Jívaro territory, but within a few years abandoned the site altogether when explorations failed to reveal economically exploitable oil deposits in the region. The project involved relatively limited interaction with the Jívaro.

177 In 1945, a North American evangelist missionary belonging
797 to the Gospel Missionary Union established a small outpost on the middle Río Macuma. The mission has a small airstrip supplied by single-engine plane since 1946. A subsidiary airstrip was built on the upper Río Cangaimi at the end of 1954.²⁸ At the time of the investigator's first fieldwork, the Macuma mission was beginning to exert some significant influence on the Jívaro families residing at the mission, but such contacts were still limited to the immediate locality, without any noticeable effect on the culture of the other Jívaro inhabiting the vast interior region east of the Cordillera de Cutucú. The Salesians had also founded a mission on the lower Río Yaupi, with similar localized effects.

- 101 Localities within the interior Jívaro territory which had
177 been least touched by white contact in 1956-57 are the ones from which the data are primarily drawn for the present study. These areas include: the upper Río Cangaimi; the upper Río Cusumí; the upper Río Mangosiza; and the region between the Río Chiguasa and the headwaters of the Río Yuquipa and the Río Macuma (see Map 1). The last region is west of the northern end of the Cutucú mountain barrier

but was still largely isolated from colonists' incursions by the swift, bridgeless Río Upano and its often deep canyon (see Plate 1), which acted as an obstacle throughout its length to eastward migration by the horse-dependent settlers. These localities (excluding missions and their environs) had, together with other areas of minimal white penetration, an estimated total population of approximately 2,205 persons. Beginning with Chapter II, the present tense will be used to describe interior Jivaro culture as it existed at the time of the original fieldwork. In other words, the "ethnographic present" is 1956-57.

Whether this population in the northern and eastern portion of the tribe was larger or smaller than in previous decades is difficult to determine in the absence of written records. It does appear, however, that three of the localities involved, the Río Chiguasa region, the middle Río Macuma area, and the Río Yaupi Valley, were not occupied by the Jivaro until around the turn of the century. These occupations were the consequence of head-taking raids by the Jivaro which forced the Achuara (*achuara huara*) to retreat northeastward from the Chiguasa and middle Macuma areas and the Huambisa (*huambisa huara*) to withdraw southward from the Yaupi region. This territorial expansion by the Jivaro was a by-product, rather than a conscious purpose, of their *tsantsa* raids against these adjacent tribes.³⁶

Once vacated, such formerly enemy-held regions attracted Jivaro from the Río Upano Valley, elderly *untnori huara* informants explained, because the hunting and fishing were better than in the Upano area. The superior hunting and fishing were also given as the reason that families had, for decades at least, moved eastward across the Cordillera de Cutucú to join their tribesmen already settled there. Later, when white colonists entered the Upano Valley in large numbers from the

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- 101 highland province of Azuay in the 1930's many more Jivaro
166 families migrated eastward to escape harassment. Thus it
seems evident that the population of the interior Jivaro has
been substantially augmented by migration for at least a cen-
tury.

164 The picture is less clear with regard to the demographic
[731] effects of disease upon the interior Jivaro. Epidemics of
contagious disease, especially measles and whooping cough,
appear to have had devastating effects in the twentieth cen-
[161] tury among these people. Informants claim that in some
cases half of the populations of their neighborhoods were
wiped out in a single epidemic. It is difficult to evaluate such
statements, but they are not inconsistent with what we
know of the effects of such diseases on other South Ameri-
can forest Indians under observation at times when they
were struck by measles and smallpox. In addition, common
colds and similar respiratory ailments easily reach epidemic
proportions among the Jivaro, with complications of a fatal
nature being common, especially among infants and the eld-
[123] erly. The fear of colds is so great that it can act as a barrier
to acceptance of the anthropological fieldworker, who must,
of course, take every precaution to be sure that he and his
companions are not, in fact, bringing the disease.

Malaria is endemic, but is recognized by elderly inform-
ants as being an anciently introduced disease "brought by
[753] Jivaro coming back from Peru." The Jivaro believe that it is
transmitted when sharing the bowl in which manioc beer is
[161] served. It would seem highly likely that malaria, an Old
World disease, which possibly has been present among the
Jivaro since the sixteenth century, has had substantial effects
on their rate of mortality and thus upon their long-range
population size and density. Again, however, the lack of

relevant written records makes it almost impossible to judge its actual demographic effects. 164

Informants report that a significant new disease in the interior is gonorrhea, which they say was brought to the Upano Valley Jívaro by Colombians during the rubber boom at the beginning of this century and has only recently crossed the Cutucú range. The Colombians were also said to have brought mumps. Interestingly, although smallpox epidemics are known in the Upano region, the interior Jívaro east of the Cordillera de Cutucú do not recall the disease ever having spread to them. Tuberculosis is said to have been completely unknown anywhere in the Jívaro country until the colonists from Azuay moved in, but is now common.

The demographic trends among the interior Jívaro thus are sketchy and conflicting. On the one hand, there has been a definite growth through in-migration from the Upano Valley in the face of the advancing white population; but on the other hand, a high incidence of mortality has apparently occurred, especially among the very young and the elderly, as a result of serious epidemics of introduced contagious disease. Another imponderable demographic factor is the shift that has occurred during the past half-century from large-scale headhunting wars with other tribes, in which men, women, and children were all killed, to an emphasis on individual assassination within the tribe directed primarily at adult males. Given the various conflicting trends and uncertainties involved, about all that seems clear is that there is no obvious overall trend of population growth or decline among the interior Jívaro during the first half of the twentieth century. The area occupied by them, however, does seem to have expanded. 16

In addition to the Río Upano and the Cutucú mountain

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- 101 barriers, intra-tribal feuding between neighborhoods has con-
628 tributed significantly to the insulation of the interior Jívaro from contact with the frontier whites. Internal hostilities have discouraged many men from traveling more than ten or fifteen miles from their homes. Many have not been willing to risk traveling that far, for fear of assassination by personal enemies or enemies of close relatives. At the time of the author's original fieldwork in 1956-57, such fears produced a situation in which relatively few of the men deep in the interior had even briefly visited the region of Ecuadorian colonization.

177 The relative isolation of the interior Jívaro, however, had
439 not prevented them from obtaining increasing quantities of
[411] machetes, steel axes, and shotguns. By means of neighbor-
[441] hood-to-neighborhood relays of native trading partners, these products of Western civilization were passed from the frontier Jívaro into the most remote parts of the tribal territory. All of the interior Jívaro neighborhoods were thus supplied with steel cutting tools, firearms, and ammunition without the necessity of coming into direct contact with the white population.

The growth of this trade in recent decades had been made possible by the increasing involvement of the frontier Jívaro in the Ecuadorian socio-economic structure. The frontier Jívaro, primarily through their employment by Ecuadorians in manual labor, had acquired quantities of factory-manu-
[464] factured goods. At the same time, there was a shortage of
177 native-type goods among the Jívaro on the frontier, partially
184 because of the near exhaustion of local game, which supplied
43 feathers and bird skins for ornament. The interior Jívaro, in contrast, had a much more abundant supply of game and native-produced goods, but a greater scarcity of steel cutting

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

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When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

- 361 The interior Jivaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilometers).¹ The territory maximally involved extends roughly from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jivaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of irregular size. The interior Jivaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

- 101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
194 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *mirad entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,
/p. 77/

and the speaker is at home or visiting the house of a Jivaro 101 •
 on another tributary of the Cangaimi, the visitor will use the 103
 name of his home tributary stream as the label for his group, 184
 e.g., *niwá suarā* (people of the jaguar stream). If the same
 speaker is a day's journey away, however, visiting a Jivaro
 household on the Río Pangui, he will say that his home group
 is the *kayaim suarā* (Río Cangaimi people). If he is visiting
 another tribe, such as the Achuara, he will use an even
 broader term to denote his own people, e.g., *unturi suarā*
 (numerous people), a term encompassing all the people who
 speak his dialect, in other words, the Jivaro tribe, but even
 its boundaries may be somewhat hazy in his mind. Given the
 haziness of definition of community and an absence of uni-
 lineal kin groups, the household tends to be the most concrete
 social unit visible in Jivaro society.

The Household, Child-rearing, and Kin

Most Jivaro households are very close-knit economic and 361
 social units, in contrast to the neighborhood and tribal society 592
 as a whole. Each house, averaging about nine occupants,
 is usually isolated a half-mile or more from the next; but
 sometimes two, or rarely three, houses may be located within
 three hundred yards of one another. Adjacent houses, when
 they occur, invariably belong to close relatives, usually one
 being that of a middle-aged man and the other(s) of his
 son(s)-in-law. Even such limited concentrations are not very
 permanent, due to such factors as quarreling between the
 neighboring relatives or the gradual depletion of the local
 wild game supply.

A household tends to have a typical composition of: one 592
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believe that they lack adequate land, the whites feel that the Indians are not using all the territory at their disposal. This basic cultural difference makes successful communication and adjudication of disputes extremely difficult between the two groups. The Catholic Church, specifically the Salesian order, which has the responsibility for the missions in the Upano Valley, has generally chosen to side with the Indians, with the result that it has alienated a large portion of the white colonist population. Allegedly to show their displeasure, some of the whites are reported to be responsible for burning down a Salesian mission building at Sucúa in 1969.

The chief vehicle of Salesian support for the Jivaro is the Federation of Shuar Centers (*Federación Provincial de Centros Shuaros de Morona-Santiago*) founded in 1964 with the guidance of Padre Juan Shukta, and governed by Catholicized Jivaro.¹ The organization, aiming at representing the economic, political and cultural interests of the majority of Jivaro throughout the tribe, is attempting to encourage them to develop a secure economic base through cattle raising, creating pasture, and securing legal rights to their land. The Federation also tries to encourage ethnic pride through brief daily radio broadcasts transmitted in Jivaro from its new headquarters building in Sucúa. To this end, the native term, "Shuar" (*shu'a*), has been adopted in preference to the formerly locally prevalent "Jibaro," the latter term being felt to connote "savage."

A serious problem for the Jivaro is that almost their only spokesmen in the Ecuadorian power structure are the missionaries, since there has not been a branch of the government concerned specifically with the protection of the rights of the forest Indians. Such a governmental agency would not necessarily right the injustices to the Indians (witness the many historic failures of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Af-

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